

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 SAM-01 NIC-01 OMB-01

EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 /097 W
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R 250005Z MAR 75
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4292
INFO USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RANGOON
AMEMBASSY SAIGON
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY SIGAPORE
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 HONG KONG 3082

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CINCPAC FOR POALD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CH

SUBJ: PEKING'S FOREIGN POLICY OUTLOOK

SUMMARY: CHINA'S OUTLOOK AND POLICIES AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR CHANGED MOST IN THE DOMESTIC SPHERE WHERE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PREDICTAED ON IMPROVING POLITICAL STABILITY AND UNITY HAS COME TO THE FORE. EXAMINING IN BROAD PERSPECTIVE THE CONNECTION AS IT NOW APPEARS BETWEEN THIS CONSTRICTIVE, NATIONALISTIC GOAL AT HOME AND PEKING'S UNFOLDING LINE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WE BELIEVE CHINA SEES THE PROSPECT OF A PERIOD OF PEACE IN THE AREA AS FACILITATING THIS NEW DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. AT THE SAME TIME, LOOKING AHEAD, IF AND AS CHINA MAKES PROGRES STOWARD THE GOAL OF BUILDING A "POWERFUL MODERN SOCIALIST" STATE, OUR RELATIONS WITH PEKING ARE INCREASINLGY GOING TO BE OUR OVERRIDING PREOCCUPATION IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. END SUMMARY

1. THIS YEAR HAS COMMENCED WITH CHINA'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES BETTER COORDINATED AND FURTHER REORIENTED TO CONVENTIONAL GOALS OF NATIONAL INTEREST. LAST YEAR'S DOMESTIC UPSURGE OF MASS POLITICAL AGITATION, WITH ITS SOMETIMES-- XENOPHOBIC UNDERTONES, HAS SUBSIDED AND IN ITS PLACE IS A NEW STRIVING FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITH THE VISION OF A "POWERFUL, MODREN, SOCIALIST CHINA" FORECAST TO MATERIALIZE BY THE END OF THE CNETURY. THE IDEA OF A GERNERATION OF PEACE IS STILL PUBLICLY DISPARAGED AND PERHAPS PRIVATELY DISTRUSTED IN CHINA, BUT THE ASSUMPTION NOW UNDERLYING THE VIEW FROM PEKING IS THAT PEACE IS POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE.

2. THE RECYCLING OF PEKING'S OUTLOOK HAS COME A LONG WAY-- FROM THE EARLY DAYS IN THE 1950'S WHEN CHINA WAS LARGELY ISOLATED AND DEPENDANT UPON THE RUSSIANS, THROUGH THE LATE 1950'S WHEN SINO-SOVIET DIFFERENCES CRYSTALIZED, INTO THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER TENSIONS OF THE LATE 1960'S , TO THE STILL-
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RECENT OPENING OF CHINA'S WORLDWIDE ACCEPTANCE AND INVOLVEMENT AND A MORE RELAXED, SOPHISTICATED CHINESE PERCEPTION OF THE EXTERNAL THREAT GENERALLY. CHINA PROBABLY ENTERED 1975 WITH UNPRECEDENTED CONFIDENCE SHE WAS NOT GOING TO BE ATTACKED AND THAT FURTHER DIPLOMATIC GAINS ERE ASSURED.

3. TAKING IN STRIDE THE FLATTERY OF WORLD ATTENTION--- PROBABLY BECAUSE THEY CONSIDERE IT DUE-- CHINA'S LEADERS ARE MOVING NOW

TO USE THE PERIOD OF EPACE FOR DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT WITH THE INTENTION , IF PEACE LASTS LONG ENOUGH, TO PUT THE NATION BEYOND ATTACK, BULLYING AND ANY OTHER DISRESPECT. IN THE SHORT RUN, PEKING IS COUNTING ON THE MOMENTUM OF WORLD INTEREST IN CHINA PLUS INTRACTABLE PROBLEMS ELSEWHERE FOR THE SUPERPOWERS, WITH A MINIMUM OF HARD BARGAINING AND CHINESE CONCESSIONS, TO KEEP SCORING GAINS IN INTERNATIONAL RESPECT, INFLUENCE AND SECURITY. IN THE LONGER RUN, PEKING IS COUNTING ON BECOMING A GREAT POWER, EVEN A SUPERPOWER, IN RAPID STRIDES WHICH WILL MAINTAIN AND SPUR WORLD INTEREST IN COMING TO TERMS WITH CHINA OR AT LEAST IN LEAVING CHINA ALONE.

4. HOW CHINA WOULD BEHAVE IF POWERFUL AND MODERN BY THE END OF THE CENTURY IS TOO FAR OFF AND PROBLEMATIC FOR AN OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT. FOR THE FRRESEEABLE FUTURE, CHINA IS MOVING, ALBEIT SLOWLY, TOWARD EXPANDING HER ACTIVE INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENTS, AND THREE POSSIBLY FOUR, TRIPS ABROAD BY VARIOUS OF THE THE VICE PERMIERES WILL HAVE BEEN MADE BY MID-YEAR. CHEN SHI-LIEN HAS ALREADY VISITED THE SUBCONTINENT AND MADE A GESTURE TO INDIA; CHEN YUNG -KUEI WILL SHORTLY VISIT MEXICO IN THE AMERICAS; AND TENG HSIAO-PING IS EXPECTED TO TRAVEL TO FRANCE AND POSSIBLE AFRICA. THEAT WILL BE A THREE-FOUR HUNDRED PERCENT INCREAE IN SUCH TRAVEL OUTISDE THE SMALL CHINESE FRATERNAL CIRCLE OF STATES OVER LAST YEAR WHEN TENG, GONG TO THE UN SPECIAL SESSION, MADE THE FIRST SUCH TRIP SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. IF THESE PROTOCOL JOURNEYS ARE A ONG WAY FROM ENGAGING CHINA WITH THE SOLUTION OF WORLD PROBLEMS, THEY NEVERTHELESS ARE A STEP IN THAT DIRECTION, PROVINDINGCHINESE LEADERS WITH SOME OVERDUE, FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE OF THE WORLD TODAY. TAT IS MORE LIKELY TO OPEN THEIR MINDS THAN SITTING HOME WAITING FOR FOREIGN POLGIRMS, AND NOW THAT THEY HAVE STARTED SUCH TRAVEL, IT WILL BE HARD SECRET

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TO STOP FOR INVITATIONS SHOULD FLOOD IN FROM FAR AND WIDE.

5. WE RECENTLY COMMENTED UPON CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA, CONCLUDING THAT PEKING COULD VIRUTUALLY COMPLETE THE ESTABLISHNET OF DESIRED BILATERAL RELATIONS IN THE TRADITIONAL SPHERE OF INTEREST BY THE END OF THE YEAR. WE WILL BE ASSESSING OTHER AREAS IN DETAIL AS DEVELOPMENTS WARRANT. IN PRESENT HIGHLIGHTS, CHINA, IN THE NORTHEAST , IS BEATING OUT THE SOVIET UNION FOR JAPAN'S ATTENTION; ON THE SUBCONTINENT RECENT CHINESE GESTURES TOWARD INDIAN HAVE PROBABLY PUT THE BURDEN ON NEW DELHI FOR SOME IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS AND, IF NOTHING ELSE, THIS FURTHERS THE CHINESE IMAGE IN WORLD EYES AS PEACEABLE AND CONCILIATORY.

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R 250005Z MAR 75

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4293

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY SIGAPORE

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CINCPAC FOR POALD

6. PEKING MAY SIMILARLY HAVE AN EDGE ON MOSCOW IN APPEARING THE MORE REASONABLE PARTNER IN THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE, ALTHOUGH IT REMAINS TO BE DEMONSTRATED THAT PEKING'S OCCASIONAL SIGNALS SINCE LAST WINTER AMOUNT TO ANYTHING MORE THAN TEASING AND POSTURING FOR WORLD OPINION. HAVING CALLED THE RUSSIAN BLUFF OVER THE SOVIET HELICOPTER AFFAIR LAST YEAR, WHEN THE RUSSIANS THREATENED DIRE CONSEQUENCES IF THE CREW WERE NOT RETURNED, THE CHINESE MAY HAVE FURTHER ASSURED THEMSELVES THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT AN IMMEDIATE THREAT.

7. THE CHINESE ARE HAVING LESS SUCCESS IN TURNING EUROPEAN HEADS AGAINST DETENTE WITH MOSCOW, AND PEKING IS ALSO IN A DILEMMA BETWEEN HER WISH FOR A STRONG EUROPE AGAINST THE RUSSIANS AND CHINA'S PRIMARY ALIGNMENT WITH THE THIRD WORLD, WHICH IS CURRENTLY SQUEEZING EUROPE WITH THE LEVEL OF OIL. DISTURBANCE AT EUROPE'S PLIGHT HAS NOT ALTERED PEKING'S LONG-STANDING AND QUITE VOCAL ADVOCACY OF INDEPENDENT CONTROL OVER NATIONAL RESOURCES, BUT THE CHINESE SEEM SOMEWHAT SOBERED AND PERHAPS EVEN A BIT AWED AT THE WAY THE OIL WEAPON HAS WORKED TO UNSETTLE THINGS. THE CHINESE SPEAK OF AN INCREASED DANGER OF WAR AS A RESULT OF SUPERPOWER CONTENTION, BUT NOT AS ANYTHING DESIRABLE.

8. ALTHOUGH THEY KNOW THEY HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE OVER ITS ACTION, THE CHINESE CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE THE THIRD WORLD AS THOUGH IT REALLY WERE A UNITED FORCE FOR PROGRESS, AND THE CHINESE ARE LIKELY TO RETAIN THIS STANCE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THERE IS, HOWEVER, IN THE NEW CHINESE DEDICATION TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, TO JOINING "THE FRONT RANKS OF THE WORLD" AS CHOU EN-LAI HAS PUT IT, THE IMPLICATION THAT BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY CHINA HOPES TO MOVE UP OUT OF THE THIRD WORLD, DEVELOPING-NATION CATEGORY. WHILE ASSURING THAT CHINA WILL NEVER BECOME A SUPERPOWER, THE CHINESE NOW AVOW THAT GETTING TO THE TOP AND FAST IS IMPORTANT AND THAT SUCCESS IS MEASURED BY BEING POWERFUL AND MODERN AS WELL AS SOCIALIST. IF AND AS THE CHINESE PROGRESS TOWARD THIS GOAL

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHANGE IN DIRECTION THEY HAVE TAKEN THIS YEAR WILL GROW AND BECOME MORE APPARENT.

9. RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES HAVE AN IMPORTANT PLACE AND A ROLE TO PLAY IN THIS NEW CHINESE WORLD OUTLOOK, OBSCURED, PERHAPS, AT THE MOMENT BY THE TAIWAN QUESTION. WE HAVE ALREADY FACILITATED THE EXPANSION OF CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS THROUGH OUR OWN INTEREST IN BILATERAL RELATIONS; AND DESPITE SOME SIGNS OF UNEASINESS ON THE CHINESE PART LATE LAST YEAR, SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS APPEAR TO BE ON TRACK. IN THE LONGER TERM, IN THEIR NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN, THE CHINESE HAVE HINTED AT THE EXISTENCE OF SOME FOUNDATION FOR SINO-US-JAPAN COOPERATION AGAINST SOVIET HEGAMONY IN ASIA, POINTING PERHAPS AT AN ELEMENT IN A CHINESE FORMULA FOR MAINTAINING THE EXTERNAL PEACE AND STABILITY SHE NEEDS FOR HER TRANSFORMATION INTO THAT FUTURE POWERFUL AND MODERN STATE.

10. THE IDEA OF A GREAT-POWER CHINA , WHICH WE TRIED TO CREATE IN WROLD WAR II AND LATER TRIED TO PREVENT IN THE KOREAN WAR AND AFTER, IS IN FRONT OF US AGAIN UNDER NEW AND DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES, BOTH WITHIN CHINA AND BETWEEN US. HOW WE HANDLE IT IS INCREASINGLY GOING TO BE OUR OVERRIDING PREOCCUPATION IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD.

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